1:46:Gwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

211 in the appearance of the poles. Sometimes one is erected at
*556 the front door of the house with an opening at its base through
998 which all must pass to enter the house, or a pole may be solid
582 and stand on the opposite side of the sidewalk; the choice in
[184] either case depending upon the usage recorded in the ancestral myth. Instead of a totem-pole, a chief may display his ancestral chunks by means of paintings on the front wall of his house, or by carved house-posts supporting the longitudinal beams, if such had been used by his ancestors. Moreover, a chief entitled to display a totem-pole may choose to use only paintings. If he validates these by presents, they give him the same dignity and importance as a totem-pole, particularly if he cannot validate its construction by lavish gifts. Most Bella Coola poles are only about fifteen to twenty feet in height, and though
[171] it is possible that a few families had prerogatives entitling them to construct lofty poles, such as used by the Haida, it is unlikely that such were ever common.

When a chief who has erected a totem-pole before his house gives another potlatch, he may wish to put up a second pole beside the first. Occasionally two or three poles stand before the house of a chief, but one is more frequent or even none at
[164] all. At death the pole is often taken to the cemetery where it acts as a memorial-post (I, p. 461). Otherwise it remains standing until some other occupant of the house wishes to erect another in its place, when the first is pulled down and neglected.

Coppers

*556 The Bella Coola use coppers for only two purposes: casting
[164] on the ground upon which the representation of a deceased relative had trodden, or throwing into the fire when the figure has left the house. In either case, they are said to "make home for the dead." Although used but rarely, the occasion when a copper is employed is so important that to obtain one and increase its value is a vital consideration for every chief.

[177 Most of the coppers now used by the Bella Coola are made
434]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

435 immediately before, or during the early stages of a potlatch, in
*556 order to receive goods immediately, but with the proviso that
[432] it shall be returned to him for throwing into the fire. This
[426] method has the advantage of providing the chief with goods when required, and doubles the worth of the copper.

Coppers are not always rescued from the ashes and given to poor men. If one is still lying in the fire after several days,
[964] the donor of the potlatch removes it and fastens it to the memorial-post over the grave of his deceased relative. It may be left there, or another chief wanting a copper may buy it from the donor and increase its value in the usual manner. Only a small price is paid in such circumstances, since the copper, having served its purpose, is practically valueless.

177 The Bella Coola state that in ancient times coppers were
435 worth less than at present, and that the change in sentiment
*556 regarding them is due to Kwakiutl influence. All agree that the value placed upon them at Fort Rupert and Alert Bay is greater than elsewhere on the coast. The Bella Coola believe that the Kwakiutl distribute presents in respect to their coppers and that their values mount to enormous sums when the gifts are returned. It is clear that the importance of coppers, like the potlatch and other elements of culture, has increased in recent years through the influence of the coastal tribes.

*556 It is almost impossible to define coppers in the nomenclature of economic theory. They are not mere articles of barter, since they have no practical use outside the ceremonies of chiefs. Nor are they standardized units of trade or cur-
[434] rency, since each differs not only from all other coppers, but
[211] also at different periods. In a sense they serve as tokens of
[532] what has been expended; representations of them may be carved and painted on totem-poles where they serve as marks of the goods which the chief has given away, but this is only
[426] a minor consideration. A copper can perhaps best be described
[435] as an investment which can be applied only to one purpose, "the making of bone for a deceased" person. It grows more valuable at every transmission in accordance with the goods ex-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE5

those just described. The giving of these at this time is not obligatory, nor does it affect the validity of the coming marriage. It is merely a mark of friendly feeling between the two groups of relatives, and, by adding to the importance of the event, increases the potential strength of the unborn children. 583

If either X or Y should die during the period of engagement, the presents, or their equivalent, must be returned to the donors. No formal methods are employed to ensure this; but the force of public opinion suffices to compel a man to do that which is proper; in fact, he is anxious to do so. If Y should die, an effort is made to replace her with a sister, cousin, or other near relative, so that the friendly relations entered upon by the two families may not be lost. The gifts mutually given by the two families may be returned and re-donated or the substitute simply takes Y's place without further arrangement. Sometimes, in spite of the wishes of their parents and the elaborate rites carried out, either X or Y breaks the engagement by going to live with somebody else. It is then a mark of pride for the family of the offender to return the gifts they have received, and almost equally a mark of honour for the aggrieved party to give back what has been bestowed upon them, in order to demonstrate how little value they place on the possession of goods. 584 [583] [626] [154] [583]

Though a lengthy engagement is desirable, it may be curtailed. If, for example, one of X's relatives should die before the usual period has elapsed, Y's father may suggest an immediate wedding. He knows that X's family will have heavy expenses in connection with the burial and mourning rites, hence it is courteous to offer a quick marriage with the financial advantages accruing to them at the ceremony. In this case, X either does not work at all for Y's family, or for only a short time. Moreover, if Y reaches marriageable age without her father receiving suitable proposals, he can himself take the initiative by consulting the parents of an eligible young man. If the suggestion is agreeable, the engagement is announced in the manner already described, and the marriage takes place [764]

Li Mc Howath E-5 (1922-1924)948
NES Bellacoola NES

carried out, her relatives are expected to return to her husband's family the goods received during the engagement and at the wedding. The matter is then settled. If the deceased has a younger sister, cousin, or other near relative, an effort is usually made to have this individual replace the dead wife.* No further goods are given, except perhaps a few to add dignity to the transference; the new wife merely replaces her dead sister and the bond between the two families continues unbroken. If the husband should die, his wife's relatives are considered honourable and endowed with the minds of chiefs if they restore to his relatives the presents which they have received. But if the wife can be remarried to one of his relatives, there is no need for this and the two families continue to enjoy the mutual strength acquired by the long period of engagement and exchange of benefits and presents.

If death takes place after the repurchasing of the wife, there is no need to return presents, since the rebuying has cancelled the expenditure by the husband. If children have been born and the woman has long become practically a member of her husband's family, she is buried by them as a matter of course, but should she die soon after marriage, her own family usually performs the obsequies.

With the passing of many years of married life, the repurchasing several times of the woman, and the birth of children, she becomes so much a member of her husband's family that his death seldom ends the arrangement. The widow is by no means a slave and usually is master of her own destiny, especially if she has children and has reached a position of eminence in the community. Since the desirability of preserving the bond between the two families is fully realized, it is accordingly customary for a widow to wed her husband's brother, or a husband his deceased wife's sister. But in each case the ritual of marriage and exchange of presents must be

*The native term emphasizes the fact that the new wife is virtually inherited by her husband.

[illegible]

to kill an enemy, but his success is accredited to his supernatural possessions which have given him skill as a warrior rather than to his own ability. 761 726

It is felt that no ordinary explanation is sufficient to account for the death of a great chief. No matter what may have been the actual cause, it is always said that the supernatural Carpenters, who in the beginning of time created mankind, came down and "seized" or "called back" the deceased, thinking him too good for this world. It is believed that these beings are keen hunters, and that *Ilyunaiu* allows them to pursue influential people. This sentiment is always expressed in mourning songs for a dead chief, but although accepted as a matter of fact, it is little more than a formalized belief which serves to comfort the mourners. The infraction of a taboo is another reason frequently given for a chief's death. It is said that there was a loud crash and the earth shook before the death of *Pasha*; he became ill immediately, and his stomach began to swell. The stricken chief said that *Sung'* itself had fallen upon him, but the common belief was that he had erred in some ritual act. At any rate, he died within a few hours. 761 622 [775] [538]

RITES FOLLOWING DEATH

News of a critical illness spreads rapidly through the village and the house in which the sufferer is lying becomes a rendezvous for friends asking about his condition. Failure to do so would be considered ungracious, with the result that there is such a constant coming and going that rest is denied the sick person. Shamans are called upon to practise their powers in a noisy manner, and female relatives weep and wail. The din is indescribable. 963 [956]

When the patient shows no further indication of life, the shamans cease, but the women redouble their cries. Relatives, friends, and sympathizers all crowd into the house and begin to weep, often adding verbal lamentations. The progress of the news from house to house can be traced by the wailings. Mean- 964

764 while the relatives are preparing the body for disposal. For a child, these services are performed by the parents; for a married man whose parents are dead, by his brothers and other kindred; for a married woman, by her husband or the members of her own family. If she has borne no children, it is customary for her relatives to carry out the funeral rites, especially if she has been many times brought from her husband. If such repayment has not been made, it is considered correct for a husband to bury his wife, although it is a point of honour for her relatives to reimburse him later for his expenditure. On the other hand, when children have been born and financial assistance mutually given and received several times, it is proper for the husband to perform the funeral rites, although he may receive assistance from his wife's kinsmen. There is no rigid ruling on the point, but bickerings seldom occur in connection with disposal of the dead. Members of the ancestral family are ready to assist in every case, both on account [619] [536] of the disgrace that would follow a niggardly funeral, and also as a means of displaying their wealth.

The first essential is to wash the body, a rite performed by men for a man, by women for a woman. It is immaterial who does this though some of the relatives usually volunteer. Neither husband nor wife touches a dead consort, though it [139] is said that long ago a man would hold intercourse with a deceased wife to indicate his extensive grief. The most influential member of the immediate family takes the lead in the various necessary acts, although there is always endless discussion and advice from members of the ancestral family and others interested. A nose-ring is placed in the septum [301] of the corpse; if this is omitted, the body will not be able [175] to dissolve into its elements but will range the earth as a walking phantom, causing injury to anyone who observes it. [525] If the deceased has just eaten some of the first run of spring salmon or olachen, a shaman washes out his mouth with a sponge of undyed cedar-bark which he throws into the river. The essence of the salmon is thus extracted from the body; if

this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the final has been digested.

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the knuckles just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and rigor mortis has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world.

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *nomā*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the *denunciation* of the coming of *Malektlō*. A *nomā* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at once. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *nomā* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *nomā* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *nomā* concealed on the *roof* of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Malektlō* (also called *Sisiutpawan*),

U.S. Navy Photograph
NAVAL AIR EXPERIMENTAL STATION
Naval Air Material Center
Philadelphia 12, Pennsylvania

422
764

Personnel parachute held on a gloss

[P-442 (A)]

PLATE III

111
•924
S32

Memorial figure and pyramid processions on a grave

[p 442 (B)]

[illegible]

PLATE III

211
764
592

Photograph by R. I. Pocock, Natural History Museum of London

Memorial posts showing cross of the deceased

[p442 (c)]

[p 402 (2)]

211
964
532
778

PLATE II

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Totem-pole serving as a memorial post

[p 142 (E)]

Photograph by A. J. Gell, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford

Memorial post with wooden representations of coppers given away by the deceased

[Protected]

CAMBRIDGE U.P. (WEB-ONLY) 978-0-521-39426-2 - Art, Myth and Ritual in Kwoma
Alfred Gell
Excerpt
More Information

Photograph by H. J. Hans, Institut Grands d'Canada

Monastic gate with medal vase and figures representing doves

[Fig. 222 (b)]

Library of Congress E-5 (1922-1924)1968
NEA Bellacoola NEA

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen. [575] [766] [424] [779]

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrules the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased. [764] [796] [554]

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[6] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the man throws out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially [203] [609]

[6] This is done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the coast. [178]

Wellcome E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[764] friends of the deceased, pick up the coffin and carry it through
[762] the hole. In former times it was frequently difficult to obtain
[784] pall-bearers for a slave or friendless person on account of the
[761] taboos to which a person performing this service was subject. If a dead person should be taken through a doorway, others using it would soon follow the corpse to the next world. For the same reason, a body must never be moved across the central line of a house; the passage is, therefore, made from the side where it happens to be lying. As soon as the corpse has been taken through, the removed planks are quickly replaced. Mourners and guests stream out through the doorway and follow the coffin, some of them carrying the bundles containing part of the goods of the deceased. Meanwhile the pall-bearers follow the woman with the torch to the cemetery, taking care to carry their burden so that it faces the direction
[761] in which they are going; if a dead person is allowed to look backwards, he will beckon some relative to accompany him and the one so summoned will soon die.

There is a cemetery near every village, usually fifty to a hundred yards behind the row of houses in a place from which the heavy timber has been cleared. On arrival, the pall-bearers set down their burden close to the spot where the guide has placed her flaming bark on the ground. The personal possessions of the deceased are likewise deposited near the fire, which is kept alight by female relatives throwing on it small quantities of the dead person's clothing and utensils. The near kinsmen of the deceased choose the exact site of the grave, which must never be dug before the bringing of the corpse.
[423] There is no ownership of plots within the cemetery, so that the hole can be made wherever desired. A favourite location is close to the grave of a mother, father, or other near relative, but this is optional; bones are sometimes uncovered when digging, and in that case earth is thrown in once more and a new site selected. There are no professional grave-diggers,
[767] nor are arrangements made in advance for men to perform this duty, but friends, especially strong young men, are willing to

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

undertake the task and bring with them tools for the purpose. When the location has been chosen, they start their work without further instructions, taking care that the corpse shall face east. It is said that this is done because the sun rises in that quarter, a statement that is probably a mere rationalization. Graves are usually about five feet deep, so that the digging requires some little time, especially in winter when the ground is frozen. All the young men are willing to help and relieve one another at intervals. Meanwhile the women are squatting on the ground near the coffin, some of them throwing objects on the fire, and all wailing intermittently in a high-pitched, tuneless sob into which a mourner sometimes inserts words as if her agony had overcome her.

"Please return whence you came," moans one woman, while another sobs out:

"Perhaps you were unhappy with us and wanted something we could not give you on earth."

The sun sent down the people of *Sunā* and *Snaik·al*, who accordingly regard that being as their crest. Mourners of those villages, as well as other individuals to whom the sun stands in the same relationship, are accustomed to address him, saying:

"Please increase your light to guide the way. Our child returns to you."

One woman, whose relatives had been killed by jealous rivals owing to their success in giving potlatches, prayed:

"Come no more. Those for whom you gave light have gone; henceforth shine only whither they have departed."

In some cases such doleful lamentations are mere lip service, but they often express very real grief at the loss of a friend or relative. It is also felt that such sympathy affords comfort to the mourning kindred.

As the grave grows deeper, the relatives keep measuring it and the coffin to insure a close fit and avoid unnecessary digging. As soon as it is ready, an elderly man who has been requested to perform the rite, steps to the north side of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

grave carrying a spruce bough in his hand. He touches with it the edge where he is standing, then, in sunwise order, the east, south, and west margins. This circuit is repeated four times and the branch tossed away to westward. This essential ceremony is based on a belief that the lives, or perhaps the spirits, of the grave-diggers have been drawn from them into the grave and are in danger of being pressed down by the coffin. Should this occur, they would have short lives. The spruce branch enables the supernatural elements to leave the cavity and return to their owners who suffer no ill effects. Anyone, other than a grave-digger, can perform this rite.

The coffin is now lifted into the grave, care being taken that the corpse faces east. As already described, it is in a squatting position with haunches almost on the ground. Boards have been prepared in advance, and with these the grave-diggers make a roof-like covering, placing at each corner a stone weighing from ten to fifteen pounds, to prevent the ghost from returning to trouble the survivors. Earth is thrown in on top of the boards, and as it falls the wailing breaks out dolorously in a final crescendo of mourning. If a chief has been buried, his fellows sometimes sing a *xe·tla* song. At this time it is proper for one or more chiefs to rise and speak. No one is required to do so, nor is there any rule as to the order in which they make their remarks. The first speaker is usually a prominent man related to the survivors, though seldom a son, brother, or other near relative of the deceased. A speech is generally addressed in part to the spirit of the dead person, telling it where to go; in part, to the mourners. For a dead child, emphasis is laid on the fact that although he did not live long enough to be incorporated into his ancestral myths on earth, this will be done for him in his future home. In conclusion, an appeal is often made to *Hiyuxiw*, under the name of *Smaialala*, to take pains that the spirit of the dead is given its rightful place in *Nuxmâ·a*, in the section where its first forbears were created, and whither the spirits of its dead ancestors have returned since the beginning of time.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

ning of time. The following speech was made by an elderly Bella Coola chief at the funeral of his great-granddaughter in June, 1922: [764] [537]

"Granddaughter![1] Go with your grandmother[2] to the mountain above *Tcmoti* where my first [patrilineal] ancestor came to earth. Go to the mountain across the river where *Lyil*[3] descended; go to the north where your ancestor found a copper house with a raven inside; go to the Skeena where another of your early ancestors found a whale; go to all the places where your forefathers experienced the incidents recorded in our myths; go and be happy.[4] I do not want these ever-recurring deaths in my family, but I am helpless. I hope that *Sixsinqutsam* will cease hunting us." [773]

Turning to the Carrier Indians who were present, the old man continued: "Thank you for coming twice within two days to share our grief." [648]

Turning back towards the grave, he went on:

"I have made ready the road for you.[5] Your grandfather[6] and I are grieved; our families became united when your parents married, and the bond was cemented by your birth. Now it is lost. When you were born, I rejoiced; now I am sorry. You are all right; you cannot fall because you are supported[7] by the names and fame of your father and mother, your grandfather and grandmother, your uncles and aunts, and your other ancestors who have passed away here in *Nemqa-ts*. You rest with them in your own village where is located your power from the experiences of your forefathers.

[1] The term, *ahmic*, was used, although the child was really a great-grandchild.
[2] The grandmother had been buried two days previously.
[3] One of the first people to reach this earth.
[4] The places and people mentioned were all described in the myths of the dead child's ancestral family.
[5] A reference to goods distributed by the speaker at a ceremony held a few days previously when it was certain that the child would soon die. [763] [431]
[6] The child's mother's father.
[7] Supported, *Ititcmutsla*, a word having the sense of physical support. The implication is that the deceased relatives are sitting in such a close circle that the pressure of their bodies is enough to prevent any one of them, including the dead child, from falling. [195]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764
537

They will look after you and, being chiefs, they will be able to do so properly. You will be strong indeed. I am heavy with grief. My grandchildren alone serve to anchor me to *Semqo'ut*; otherwise I would go to *Tsmusil*." Now that you have gone I may become light-headed and depart. No. I have other grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I will bear up and be a man, and show myself the chief that I am by right."

During this speech the mourners remained seated on the ground, many of the women wailing at intervals and the men listening with more or less attention except those who were filling in the grave. Once or twice the speaker hesitated for a suitable word and suggestions were called out to him.

As the old man finished speaking and sat down, another chief arose.[1]

"Children," he said, addressing the parents of the dead child, "You have indeed suffered misfortunes. A few days ago, your mother[2] died; today, your daughter. Perhaps it is all for the best. Remember how many ancestors who have gone before will be waiting to receive the child; she will be well cared for. Death passes no one, chief or commoner, but do not despair even at this double visitation. Your mother[3] never did an evil action to anyone, never said a harsh word to anyone; try to imitate her. See! I have neither father nor mother. They are both dead; we all go the same way."

In conclusion he urged the step-father of the grieving father, husband of the woman who had died a few days previously, to bear up.

As the second speaker finished, a third arose and spoke briefly.

"I am sorry," he said, "for Joe[4] in his grief today. We have

---

[1] The home of the speaker's ancestral family.

[2] No arrangements had been made in advance concerning who should speak or the order in which each should address the mourners.

[3] The mother of the child's father had died a few days previously.

[4] Referring to the mother of the child's father.

[5] The dead child's mother's father; he was addressed by his ancestral name on this occasion.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1914)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

put his granddaughter into the ground beside her grandmother but it may all be for the best."[1] 764 537

There is no doubt that condolences of this nature assist the mourning relatives to bear up under their grief. This fact was emphasized by several Bella Coola, and in addition the writer was able to observe it on several occasions. They readily respond to suggestions of any kind and undoubtedly derive comfort from the laudatory comments of influential chiefs.

Speeches of this general nature are always delivered as the grave is being filled in. Sometimes this work is finished before all who wish to do so have expressed themselves, sometimes the remarks are so short that they are ended before all the earth has been thrown back. When the hole has been filled to ground level, it is stamped down and the surplus earth scattered out of sight among the bushes, no mound being thrown up. 764

Great care is always taken to prevent the return of the ghost. In addition to the weighting with stones already described, other methods are used before the funeral party leaves the cemetery. Heavy boards are usually laid flat over the grave and rocks piled on these bar the way up from below. A further precaution is the setting upright of four stakes, one at each corner of the hole, and fastening ropes of cedar-bark between them along the east and west sides of the grave. The significance of this is not fully understood, except that the ghost cannot pass the strands. Four spruce saplings are cut and placed either between the grave and the village, or one on each side of the hole; their sharp needles form an effective barrier. 764 795 [824]

While these precautions are being taken, any clothing and utensils brought to the grave and not already consumed are thrown on the fire and allowed to blaze brightly. The ashes 764

[1] It was impossible to record these speeches *verbatim* at the time of their delivery. The writer was able to make notes, which were amplified by each speaker later telling him what he had said. Although lacking literal accuracy, the above may be considered essentially correct. [126]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 are never disturbed, being considered, in some vague way, "bad." The tools used for digging the grave are left standing upright in the loose earth, an action for which no explanation can be given by the Bella Coola. When these various rites have been performed, the funeral party returns to the village and disperses.

766 845 At present, interment is the customary method for disposing of the bodies of all except twins, whose bodies are placed in trees. Formerly, other means were sometimes employed, as 764 they still are occasionally. Instead of inhumation, a coffin 178 was frequently placed on a scaffold close behind the deceased's house. Whenever another relative died, planks were laid across, above the first box, and the new one deposited on these, so that in time the scaffold grew to resemble a house-like structure with many compartments. In the last century a certain shaman, *Áskankots* by name, is said to have pointed out that corpses were frequently carried off by wolves, *snuuq*, and other animals. For this reason he persuaded the people to inter their dead.

764 Somewhat similar to this practice was the placing of corpses in trees. Until the last few years this was sometimes done with poor children; formerly, it was not unknown even for chiefs. An elderly Kimsquit man mentioned that the coffin containing the body of his grandfather, a chief, was placed in the crotch of a tree where no rain could penetrate. This means of disposal was probably never habitual. Even at the present time, the corpse of a dearly loved child is occasionally placed above, instead of under the ground. If the parents desire to do this, they erect in the cemetery a carved figure of one of their crests and deposit the coffin on top of it. This is, of course, a graphic representation of the deceased's origin myth and symbolizes the way in which the dead person has become associated with it.

According to several of the older men, cremation was practised by the Bella Coola for some time after the first settlement of the earth. A fire was built outside the house and the body

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

thrown on it. One rather philosophic old man suggested that in this way the soul could easily return to *Nusmāt-a*. It is possible that this means of disposal was carried out in former times, but no informant had actually seen it practised. The Bella Coola state that cremation is carried out by the Kitlobe[11] and the Carriers. On the morning after a burning, young men of the former tribe rush to the spot and smear their faces with the semi-charred bones, amid much shouting. The Carriers are said to stand with their bodies inclined over the burning corpse and to smear on their faces any grease exuded from it. The accuracy of these statements is very doubtful, and can have no bearing on the reputed practice of cremation among the Bella Coola.

The bodies of rich or poor, chiefs, commoners, or slaves, all are buried in a similar manner though with differences in the complexity of ritual. Nor is any different method practised for criminals, murdered people, or those committing suicide. It is believed that in case of self-destruction the body cannot separate into its elements and reach *Nusmāt-a*; that part which becomes the ghost is able to go to the land below, but neither spirit nor life can ascend. According to one man, who may, however, have been affected by Christian influence, this is because *Älquntäm* decrees the length of life and any wilful shortening is insulting to him. Suicide is rare among the Bella Coola and four cases only were heard of. One woman killed herself in shame at having accidentally set fire to a village, another because her husband was unduly jealous, and two men through bladder stricture.

On the whole, Bella Coola methods for disposal of the dead have altered but little since the coming of the white man. The change from sub-aerial exposure to interment was probably not due to foreign influence although the introduction of metal shovels has facilitated the digging of graves and probably hastened the movement. A change in posture has, however, taken place. In former times, a corpse was always buried

[11] If not at present, at least within the memory of elderly people.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

177 squatting, now it is customary to use the extended position.
964 It is impossible to state whether this is the direct result of white teaching, or whether the ease with which large boxes can now be made has led to interment at full length.

RITES FOLLOWING DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

768 Interment of the corpse does not end the ceremonial necessitated by a death in the community. As already described, some of the clothing and utensils of the dead person are burned during the funeral, but all are not destroyed at that time. The proportion kept for future treatment is immaterial, nor is there any established usage concerning the type of object reserved. During the days following the funeral, relatives of the deceased carefully gather his clothing, cooking utensils, rifles, and all other articles which have been his personal property or used exclusively by him. On the fourth day, these are taken to the cemetery by his immediate family, accompanied by as many of their friends as wish to show their sympathy. A fire is kindled near the grave and on it is deposited whatever can be burnt; other objects are either cast into the flames or piled near at hand (see Plate 17). It is most important that every article belonging to the deceased should be disposed of in this way. There are two reasons for this. First, it is considered indecent to use the possessions of a dead person; they would have the effect of poison on anyone doing so. Secondly, the ghost of the deceased receives goods that are burnt or deposited on the grave four days after the funeral. If deprived of what belongs to him, a ghost punishes the offenders by causing sickness. Occasionally a new rifle, or some other treasured possession, is kept by a relative or friend; this is contrary to the established custom, but is justified by considering the article to be a gift from the deceased or a memento of him. No one would accept such a legacy unless he felt sure that the dead man

775
753
178
768

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

entertained such kindly sentiments towards him that he would be glad to have his friend receive it.

In recent years the number of incombustible objects has increased enormously with the introduction of metal utensils, gramophones, and other things obtained from white traders. Although these are considered to be of use to the ghost, and must be carefully placed near the grave, they can be publicly exchanged for others by a relative. The sentiments expressed on such occasions are that the ghost, though aware of what is taking place, does not resent an open transfer; and that it is unnecessary to deposit the equivalent of what has been removed. There is undoubtedly a vague idea that the ghost uses, not the actual object, but its essence, which is received by the deposition. It must be emphasized that this feeling has not become crystallized to such a state that it is customary to replace goods laid on the grave with others. Such an exchange is a rare event and would cause animosity if carried out by anyone except a near relative.

Sometimes a dying person requests that a house be erected over his grave, a common Bella Bella custom. This is built immediately after the funeral and articles that cannot be burnt are placed within it instead of being piled on the ground. The sorrowing relatives may choose to erect a picket fence around the spot, but no other mark for the grave is put up until a memorial potlatch several years after death. House or fence soon falls into decay and rarely an effort is made to repair either. Nor is the grave itself disturbed. Cow-parsnips, which are much used for food, grow frequently in cemeteries, but no one would gather the shoots that rise above a grave; they are food belonging to the dead person. The white man has taught the Bella Coola how to plant apple-trees and these are often set out in graveyards, though the fruit is allowed to fall to the ground for the benefit of those interred beneath. The Bella Bella are said formerly to have replaced at intervals the coffin containing a dead person, but this seems never to have been a Bella Coola practice. Indeed, a grave is never

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Indeed, a grave is never
965 disturbed except, rarely, when it is necessary to obtain a
[789] portion of a skeleton for magical purposes. In such a case,
[961] the coffin lid must be lifted up on the side away from the opener, so that he looks within over its upturned edge. A person failing to obey this injunction will soon die.

968 Burning or deposition near the grave is not restricted to the actual utensils and artifacts of the deceased. There, too, must be laid dried salmon which a man has smoked for winter use, as well as pulverized berries and other foods made ready
[784] by a woman; to eat food prepared by a dead person seems indescribably indecent. In recent years, the crop, if a man dies after tilling and sowing a field, is allowed to ripen, and then rot unharvested. So, too, the canoe in which a body has been brought home must be destroyed. The Bella Coola are not always able to state reasons for these actions, but it is
[961] apparent that the underlying sentiment is that the taboo of
[784] death lies upon any object prepared by the deceased, or that has been in contact with a corpse.

964 The rituals described above may be considered as religious
491 in nature; almost equally important are the social require-
556 ments of paying those who have assisted at a funeral. This
[614] indebtedness falls on the near relatives, though all members of the ancestral family are obligated in a somewhat indefinite manner. If a canoe has been destroyed that did not belong to the deceased, the owner must be recompensed. Presents must be given to the pall-bearers, to the woman who bore the flaming bark, to the grave-diggers, to those who delivered laudatory orations, and to all others who assisted in any way. Failure to do so brands the relatives as misers with little respect for the deceased; lavish recompense shows that they have the outlook and minds of chiefs. Consequently, even poor people try to give as generous rewards as possible, both for their own sakes and out of respect to the dead person. Unfortunately, it was impossible to obtain details of the ceremony at which this takes place. The increase in wealth in recent years has made it possible to give memorial potlatches soon after death

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred *tsaok* dance. As repeatedly mentioned, when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual; at present it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the crest, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the ones who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring salmon or olachen are running, pall-bearers must not go near the river for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become tainted with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the river bank, would poison the salmon. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly, friendless slave being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with boards. The taint on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapses after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that *Sä-lma*

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 783 [796] comes and sits on the coffin during every funeral, seeking further victims. Death has so contaminated a widow or widower that she or he will fall an easy prey unless ceremonially purified. No special acts are carried out between interment and the burning of goods four days later, but the following four days must be spent in a small shelter of branches behind the village, hidden from sight in the forest. Within this the man or woman lies on the ground with legs close together and bent [841] at the knees, in the same position as a girl during the four days after her first menstruation. A male friend accompanies a widower; a female, a widow. This companion keeps a fire burning and administers to the comfort of the patient, for such a bereaved person is considered to be. Every evening the two return home and leave again the following morning. On one of these days, the companion scours the woods east of the village to find four spruce saplings growing within sight of each other in an east to west direction. To this place he leads the survivor on the morning after the fourth day of concealment[a] in the shelter. He bends down the top of the western sapling and ties it into a loop with a rope composed of alternate strands of dyed and undyed cedar-bark. The widower, or widow, crawls through this opening to the east and then makes a circle, sunwise, around the sapling. Passing to the next one, the same procedure is repeated, and so in succession for the third and fourth, each being left tied into a loop. There are at least two variations in this rite: Instead of passing through four saplings, some individuals choose to crawl four times through a single one, with a sunwise circuit intervening in every case. If the survivor be a member of a family in which it is customary to use four saplings, and if the friend cannot find four in proper alignment, he cuts a number of spruce branches and sets them upright, butts in the ground, leaving a small hole between them. Four sets of these are arranged, as substitutes for four saplings, and the crawling through takes

[a] There is variation in the exact time for this rite. Some individuals practise it on the fifth day after death and omit the waiting in the shelter.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the ocean. The one near Kimsquit is called *Sqlan'li*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 765 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [626] [302] [834] [587] [735]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

prerogatives connected with the ceremony. The actual recounting of the myths may be done by a fluent speaker on behalf of the bereaved man, and when he has finished speaking, it is proper for several of his peers to make complimentary speeches, lauding the future donor for his intentions. Food is then served and the gathering breaks up.

The preliminaries of a memorial potlatch do not differ from those of an ordinary one. There is the same counting and recounting of goods, the same giving and receiving of presents, the same lending and borrowing. When at last the donor is ready, the heralds call his fellow-villagers to his house for announcement of the arrangements and allotment of the work. As at a potlatch, food is provided on a lavish scale, and there is the same sham-fight with a battering-ram ending in the destruction of part of the house. Then the carpenters receive their instructions; some to make different sections of the new structure, some to paint ancestral designs on the front and back walls, and some to make the various objects required.

The first difference between a memorial and an ordinary potlatch is apparent at this allotment of work. Instead of a totem-pole to record the glories of the donor's ancestry,[*] carpenters are requested to make memorial-posts for the dead relative who is being commemorated. These are erected in the cemetery near the grave and are of three kinds, although it is unusual for all three to be set up for a single chief.

The first consists of a wooden post carved with the design of one or more of the deceased's crests (see Plates 19 and 20). These figures are usually representations of the bird or animal cloaks used by his first ancestors; it is customary to portray the one traced through the father on the right, that traced through the mother on the left. Instead of a cloak, the figure may portray the post down which swarmed his first ancestor in the beginning of time, or Mount *Nusdalst* in human form, wearing a broad-rimmed hat as he did before he turned to

[*] Even the construction of a new house and the painting of new designs is often omitted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, therefore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's life-
[778] time, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 21). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *tukuxiaiel*
[609] (II, p. 29) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually
[532] painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, coppers, slaves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 22). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[34] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of *sisaok* dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[34] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

departed. A few days later the same ritual was carried out again, with a similar lavish distribution of food. This was often done at intervals of two or three days for several weeks, depending on how much food the donor was prepared to use. The amount required was so great that the rite was considered, in some ways, more difficult than a potlatch.

As already mentioned, however, it became customary in the last century to incorporate features of the ordinary potlatch into one of a memorial nature. In such cases the first singing of the mourning songs with display of marks by the professional mourners is as just recorded, but there is no recalling of the guests merely to listen once more to the songs. Instead, the ritual differs but slightly from that of an ordinary potlatch as already described (I, p. 182). An occasion is found to conduct the guests to the memorial-posts erected, and to inform them of the significance of the designs depicted. This same practice has been continued since the introduction of tombstones, and the meaning of the writing upon them is interpreted. The entry of the deceased in the form of his crest, and the subsequent use of a copper, is the same as already recorded. This is frequently followed by the singing of a *nsaok* mourning song if one of the near relatives owns this prerogative of foreign origin. If so, he walks slowly around the fire in a wide circle, shaking his rattle, and singing, unaccompanied. Most, if not all of these songs, are in the Bella Bella language and the right to use one has in every case been obtained through intermarriage with a member of that tribe. At intervals, heralds call out:

"Listen to the chief's lament."[a]

When presents are distributed to validate the whole ceremony, mention is always made of the different features for which they are given. As at a potlatch, the most important is the return of the dead, but at a memorial potlatch another essential is the display of the memorial-posts. These have been carved, painted, and set up, but are worthless unless validated

[a] There is no reason why this should not take place at a potlatch, but no instance of its performance was noted.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

by presents, and the greater the number of these, the greater the value of the memorial. Nothing need be added concerning this point, or other rites, to the detailed description given in vol. I, chap. IV.

Psychologically, the memorial potlatch is of tremendous importance. There may be a vague feeling that the ritual is of actual assistance to the deceased since grease burnt at it reaches him, and is of service to him, but such a belief is no more than an intangible sentiment of no weight in the lives of the people. Quite otherwise is its effect on the survivors, especially on the donor. A memorial potlatch is considered the fitting tribute of respect to a chief, and if none of his near relatives should hold one, they would brand themselves as unmindful of the fame of their dead kinsman. In recent years the white man's law has prohibited the potlatch, but chiefs have often preferred to go to jail rather than to forgo this form of memorial. The reason for this cannot be explained better than in the words of an old man whose only daughter, a "Chieftainess," died in 1922. He determined to hold a memorial potlatch and expressed himself to the writer, as follows:

"If I should fail to do what is right under the circumstances, to do what my ancestors would have done, my heart would be dead, dead as my daughter. But if I call the people, if we sing mourning songs for my child, I will be able to bear my grief. I shall have done what is right, and will be able to hold up my head with anyone, knowing that the rites have been performed for my child which are due her as a chief. If I allow her to be neglected, I would be ashamed and miserable. Jim [another "chief"] warned me when I first told him of my intention that the law forbade such ceremonies. I cannot help that. If I am sent to jail, to jail shall I go. I would rather have that happen than that my daughter should not receive fitting treatment as a chief."

In this case, though only abbreviated rites were carried out, their performance unquestionably lessened the father's grief, a fact observed on several occasions. Not only does it comfort

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

a man and assuage his sorrow to know that he has shown fitting respect to the dead, there is also a gain in social prestige. As the whole community respects, admires, and sometimes envies a man for having carried out a memorial potlatch, there is no doubt that he is pleased and gratified to such an extent that his grief is dulled. These two factors must constantly be kept in mind; memorial potlatches serve to commemorate the dead, but in so doing they add to the social importance of the donors. The two combine to bring considerable comfort to the chief who has lost a dear relative. In some cases the social prestige is the real motive, the grief assumed and unimportant; but in others the latter is the only factor that matters, and a chief is entirely oblivious to any increase in his own status. In most memorial potlatches, both feelings are present in the mind of the donor, and both are gratified.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF A FUNERAL

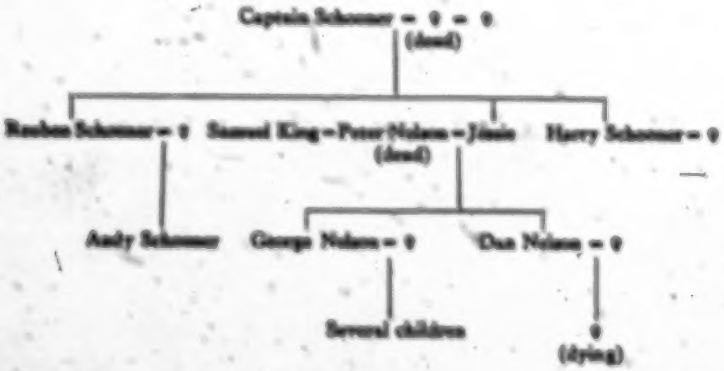
In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the traditional death rites of the Bella Coola. The following section comprises a detailed account of funeral ceremonies witnessed in 1922. The contrast between these and the ones already recorded, will indicate some of the changes in custom which are of such importance in studies of cultural growth or decline. The following description will also serve to demonstrate a point repeatedly mentioned, the manner in which business transactions and arrangements of all kinds take place whenever the people have been called together.

On June 27, 1922, the death occurred in Bella Coola of Jessie, Mrs. Samuel King, daughter of Captain Schooner. The latter, now deceased, was one of the writer's most trusted friends, and as a result of this friendship it was possible not only to attend the actual rites, but to ascertain much of the feeling underlying them. This advantage had its drawbacks, since it was manifestly impossible to question either the father or the husband of the woman too closely. The details will be de-

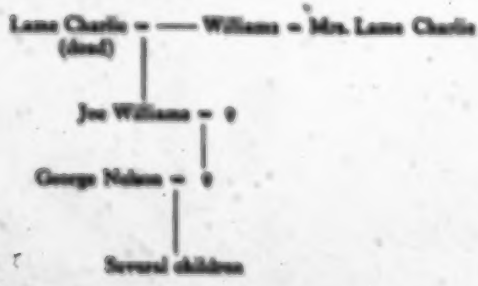
1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

scribed, in spite of some repetition entailed thereby, both to record customs surviving the decay of Bella Coola ritual, and as a means of illustrating the sentiments of the participants. To avoid native terminology, white man's names will be used throughout. It will be necessary to understand the relationships of those taking part in the ceremony, as shown in the following pedigree[1]:

PEDIGREE I



PEDIGREE II



Samuel King was a widower with one daughter at the time of his marriage to Jessie, by whom he had no children. His

[1] No attempt has been made to record the complete pedigrees; only those who took part in the ceremony are indicated.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

stepson, George Nelson, had not been living with his wife for about one year.

Early in the afternoon of June 27, Captain Schooner was notified by telephone of the serious illness of his daughter at the cannery where she was working. He set out immediately, but found her dead on his arrival. Without waiting to consult Samuel King, he called together the chiefs who happened to be in the vicinity, Willie Mack, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Bobby Nebby, and Alexander Clallaman.* He informed them that he did not propose to let his daughter be thrown carelessly into the ground like a dog, but that he was going to hold a memorial potlatch immediately after the funeral. Schooner, being a *numitl* chief as well as father of the dead woman, was able to do as he liked, and no one objected to this plan, although in former times such a ceremony neither took place at once, nor in summer. If Samuel had been present, he would have been consulted as a matter of course. It was quite fitting for Jessie to be buried by her father, since she had borne her husband no children, and had been rebought several times. Moreover, Samuel lacked the determination and prestige of his father-in-law. Having settled this main point, Captain Schooner intimated that as Jessie's granddaughter, Dan Nelson's infant, was at the point of death, it would be well to combine the mourning for both at the single ceremony. No mention was made of the amount to be used for the rite. Schooner himself had $200 to expend for the purpose which would have been sufficient, and his attitude was that he neither knew nor cared whether his relatives would assist him. Soon after the other chiefs had left, Reuben Schooner arrived from the logging-camp from which he had been summoned. Father and son discussed arrangements not only for the actual interment, a simple matter, but for the memorial potlatch. It was decided that the dead woman should return as a composite figure consisting

*None of them was closely related to the Schooner family.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

of Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, three of her crests of which the masks were available. They agreed that Timothy Snow[11] was the best carpenter available and that he should be commissioned to put them in shape and arrange their use. Reuben wanted to sing a *ssaak* mourning song, to which he had a prerogative derived from his Bella Bella mother, and it was also decided that the band[11] should play. Reuben informed his father that he would contribute $60 towards the expenditure.

Meanwhile Jessie had been washed by female friends, clad in her best clothing, and laid in her coffin. This was a rough box, contributed by the manager of the cannery and shaped like a white man's coffin. At intervals, women came near and wailed dolorously without heeding others similarly engaged. The news was carried to all the Bella Coola, those men who owned gasoline launches taking the word to the logging-camps without being requested to do so. A Carrier Indian who happened to be returning from the cannery spread the word through the village, where each woman who received the message hurried off to some friend, with whom she began to wail.

Early on the following morning, Captain Schooner returned home with his wife, Jessie's stepmother. He had been crying and was sad, but seemed willing to talk. He spoke of the proposed memorial potlatch, and expressed the sentiments recorded on vol. I, p. 473. He was grave and dignified, absolutely determined to perform what he considered to be the necessary ritual, oblivious of consequences, and heedless of what he held to be an unjust law. During that summer, Captain Schooner had been a rather heavy drinker, but on this occasion he abstained from wine, and said that he hoped no one would show disrespect to his daughter by appearing in a drunken condition either at the funeral or the subsequent rites. It is

[11] He was not closely related to the Schooners.

[11] Most of the younger Bella Coola were members of the band, performing white man's music on white man's instruments. Andy Schooner was bandmaster, but it is unlikely that this influenced the decision, since the performance of the band was customary at funerals when the writer was in Bella Coola.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 159 worthy of record that his wishes were scrupulously obeyed. During the morning he was visited by the singers and other chiefs to discuss details of the coming ceremonial.

764 159 584 Meanwhile Samuel King had been summoned from his logging-camp. He wished to show his own grief, and also his sorrow that the union between his family and the Schooners, forged by his marriage to Jessie, should be terminated. No children had been born to cement the bond. He consulted his brother and sister, who agreed with him that a marriage between his daughter, by a former wife, and George Nelson would be desirable. The girl was consulted and raised no objections. [769] Samuel then addressed Captain Schooner who was favourably disposed, so it was decided that this ceremony should take *[556] place in connection with the memorial potlatch. It would be a real, not a fictitious marriage, as the girl had reached adolescence several years previously.

764 159 Another visitor to Captain Schooner that morning was Joe Williams. Several years earlier, when he had given a ceremony in honour of two of his children who had died, Captain Schooner had contributed $100 as "A Blanket for [583] George Nelson's Wife." This was really part of the marriage transaction, although deferred for a number of years after the actual time of the wedding. This sum had been divided as follows: $20 to Joe Williams; $20 to Mrs. Joe Williams; $10 to Mrs. George Nelson; $10 to her brother; $20 to Lame Charlie; and $20 to Mrs. Lame Charlie. Joe consulted the recipients and found that all were willing to repay their indebtedness at this time. Captain Schooner did not ask for it, but Joe was glad of the opportunity to do the proper thing at the right time and thus rise in popular estimation. He and his relatives decided to return $150, a sum which he mentioned to Captain Schooner that morning.

[583] Joe Williams, his wife, and Mrs. George Nelson also decided to take advantage of the gathering to rebuy the last named from her husband. The fact that they had been separated for at least a year and that the woman had been living an immoral

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

life did not alter the necessity of rebuying her "to make good the path" of her children. For this purpose they decided to give a copper and a sum of money; it was impossible to learn the exact amount. Joe told Captain Schooner of their intention.

About noon the body was brought in a canoe from the cannery in its closed coffin and lifted ashore at a convenient spot near the cemetery. Those manning the canoe were young men who happened to be at the cannery, irrespective of whether or not they were related to Jessie. The coffin was laid on a grassy place and Captain Schooner seated himself beside it. People were passing and repassing, some sat down for a time, then moved off to dinner. Occasionally, a woman would sit and wail, the most constant being Reuben's married daughter; Captain Schooner moved around talking to his friends amidst the eerie wailing. About 1.30 P.M. everyone in the village had assembled, including a number of Carrier Indians, anxious to see the sight. Captain Schooner withdrew to his house after asking Bobby Nebby to summon the chiefs to meet him there. The messenger, who thus acted as herald, went around the gathering whispering to each; in addition to those notified at the cannery the preceding evening he called all the older and most influential Bella Coola, Albert King, Samuel King, Joe Williams, Joshua Moody, Alec Davis, Lame Charlie, Judas, and Nebuchadnezzar. Captain Schooner requested the last named, an important chief, to take charge of the ceremony. At this time Samuel King told Nebuchadnezzar, who informed the others, what had been arranged for his daughter and they agreed that it was good. It was tacitly assumed that George Nelson would be delighted; probably he had been on friendly terms with the girl for some time. Joe Williams also told Nebuchadnezzar the two business propositions that he intended to carry out, the return of the money to Captain Schooner, and the rebuying of his daughter. Nebuchadnezzar informed the people concerned. At this meeting it was decided that various chiefs should speak after the Christian service at the grave.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

764 159 Meanwhile the rest of the population was sitting near the coffin. They wore no special dress or other mark of grief. Samuel King and some of his relatives had brought bundles containing Jessie's clothing, pots, pans, and other personal possessions, which they set down near the coffin. About two [533 177] o'clock the band gathered and began to play, the favourite selection being "Annie Laurie." This went on for some time after the return of the chiefs from Captain Schooner's house. They had decided that *Täl·io* Jenny, one of Captain Schooner's distant relatives, should carry the fire in front of the body. When all was ready she lit a bundle of rags, placed it in a pot, and set off for the cemetery, followed by all in a straggling and orderless procession. Some strong young men bore the coffin, for Jessie must have weighed over two hundred pounds; some brought tools for digging the grave; others took the bundles of clothing. There was no fixed allotment of tasks; a man or woman carried anything or nothing according to his or her wish.

The cemetery is situated about fifty yards behind the old village of *Ḳomqo·ts*. The heavy timber has all been cut away and second growth has sprung up everywhere except around the newer graves. Captain Schooner had decided that his daughter should be buried near several of her relatives, and it was to this spot that Jenny led the procession. She set the pot down near the site of the grave, and the coffin likewise was placed on the ground nearby. Captain Schooner, Jim Pollard, and a few of the other old men chose the exact situation and a number of the young men began to dig. Jenny, and other women, added pieces of Jessie's clothing to the fire so that a constant small blaze was kept up. As the grave was being dug [533] the band performed at intervals, while the women sat wailing near the fire. Other men and women were seated on the ground or walking around idly near the grave, talking but [852] seldom laughing, while the Carriers were a little farther away. Children were playing around. The grave was dug about five feet deep, in shape corresponding to the coffin, but orientation

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

was not carefully observed. Those wishing to dig took turns with the tools; there was no supervision, and no orders given. When the grave was ready, Jim Pollard asked Judas to perform the rite with the spruce bough, which he did with a branch brought by one of the youths. The young men lowered the coffin into the grave while the band continued to play. The missionary then read the Christian burial service, after which he withdrew. Some of the young men brought planks from old houses near-by, sawed them to the size of the grave and laid them over the coffin as a cover. At this juncture Judas, one of the oldest and most conservative of the Bella Coola, rose to speak. First he offered consolation to the mourning relatives by pointing out that all must travel the same road. Then he spoke to Jessie, telling her not to linger, but to travel back the path of her ancestors from generation to generation until she reached the place where they first came down from above, and thence to ascend to *Nusmät·a*. It was impossible to obtain a literal translation of the speech, which was punctuated by calls of "*Ye·*" from the male Bella Coola. The next speaker was Jim Pollard, the most influential Kimsquit and a personal friend, though not a relative, of Captain Schooner's.

"Go," he said to the dead woman, "Go to the localities from which came your first forefathers in the beginning of time. There you will find your most valuable ancestral possessions. Go at once, do not linger and lose yourself on the road from generation to generation."

Turning to George Nelson, he went on, "Do not be downhearted, all of us must travel the same road. It was made by no man, it is the work of *Älquntäm*."

Looking back once more to the grave, he said, "In *Q̇omqo·ts* are buried many illustrious relatives of yours. You will be among friends, whereas we are left to lament your departure."

It was impossible to write down the words at the time and the above record is not literally correct, although it expresses the gist of the speech.

Captain Schooner whispered to Robert Hood, another of the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

older Bella Coola, asking him to announce that he, Schooner, with Dan and George, was going to hold a memorial potlatch that evening to which all were invited. Robert is not a herald but undertook this duty owing to the absence of qualified heralds. Meanwhile the grave had been filled in and the people began to drift away as it rose to ground level. Their attitude throughout had resembled that of white people at a funeral, and the hilariousness that characterizes so many Bella Coola gatherings was entirely absent except among the playing children. By 4.30 P.M. all had left the scene.

In view of the large number of guests expected it had been decided to hold the memorial potlatch, not in one of the old-fashioned houses, but in the village hall, built according to the white man's style of architecture and illuminated with swinging gasoline lamps. This is a large, rectangular building, undivided by partitions, with a stage at one end and a door at the other. About 6.30 P.M. the singers, Nebuchadnezzar, Jim Pollard, Billy Pollard, Alec Davis, Kimsquit Alec, and Robert Hood, gathered at the hall and seated themselves below the stage. Billy Pollard had prepared a mourning song during the day, Kimsquit Alec another, and it was decided to use two others that were well known to all. The singers sat and practised these four for some time, while at intervals various Bella Coola strolled in, listened for a few minutes, then walked out again. Anyone was allowed to do so, but few availed themselves of the opportunity. Meanwhile Captain Schooner had brought $10 worth of rice, raisins, and condensed milk which he placed beside a huge iron cauldron outside the front door. Jim To-Morrow, a Bella Coola of no great intelligence, volunteered to act as cook and soon had a fire blazing and the food boiling.

About 8.00 P.M. the people began to assemble, bringing their own plates and other utensils. After considerable delay and chatter, the guests took their places in the hall, seating themselves regardless of rank on benches ranged along the two side walls and massed at the rear. By mutual consent a portion of the single row of benches along the left wall was reserved

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

these various amounts making $864 when added to the previous $410.[41]

It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kusiut* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $20, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $50 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[41] The exact sums contributed by Samuel King and George Nelson could not be learnt.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

composed the tunes used; to the carpenter who had prepared and used the masked figure; to the members of the band, including a payment for their services whenever Dan Nelson's child should die; to a carpenter to erect a fence around the grave; to another to cut the representation of an eagle on a stone to be erected over the grave; to the speakers at the funeral; to the speakers at the rite then taking place; to those who delivered the money; to the youth who, with pencil and paper, assisted in keeping accounts; to the cook, and to all others who had assisted in any manner. In every case the amount was announced, the bill held up, the name of the recipient stated, the reason for his reward, and the money was then taken to him by a messenger. Captain Schooner really decided how much each should receive, he being in the best position to judge what was suitable, and there being no fixed scale of charges to help him. Work paid for in advance, such as the erection of the fence, was carefully carried out.

A little money had been kept to validate the assumption of ancestral names by several children of the Schooner family. Everyone received a small amount, a child sometimes as trifling a sum as 25 cents. Captain Schooner had virtually chosen who was to receive which designation, although he received advice from all his relatives. Harry Schooner's infant was given the name, *Pätcätcus*, a reference to the manner in which the first beams of the morning sun strike the lofty summit of Mount *Nusqalst*. Reuben's son was called *eltmäls*, a *Snuⁿ·tl* designation connected with the crash when the first *Songʷ* fell. The myths in which these names were embodied were not expounded; in fact, they had been almost forgotten, even by Captain Schooner. *Täl·io* Jenny wished to transmit one of her names to Andy Schooner's infant; this was announced in the same way as the others and validated with them by the gifts to all. Jenny had not contributed to the common stock, but some of it was used with the understanding that she would later repay. Nebuchadnezzar announced the

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

"She was my daughter, I have a right to do as I like." 768

Samuel King and the others accepted the exchange as a matter of course and made no comments. Captain Schooner took no part in the burning of his daughter's goods, this being the task of those with whom she had been living, and who accordingly knew which were hers. The fire was kindled by a married daughter of Reuben Schooner, though it could have been done equally well by any woman. On the following morning, July 1, Samuel King went with a friend to the forest and passed four times through a small spruce sapling bent into an arch. This was the last incident in the funeral rites. 783 764

Fate of the Dead

Life of the Dead

Little need be added to the account given in vol. I, chap. II of the fate of those parts of a man which go at death to *Nusmät·a*. The spirit and the life travel back the path of the deceased's ancestors from generation to generation until they reach the place where his first forefather came to earth and where his cloak, if he had worn one, floated back after his alteration to human form. When the spirit and the life of a descendant reach the spot, they change into a being having the form of the cloak, and so return to *Nusmät·a*. The spirit and the life of one who is a member of several ancestral families visit the localities where the transformations to human shape of all his ancestors occurred. The Bella Coola believe that these two elements can assume many crest forms, but they do not know whether this entails the simultaneous assumption of many shapes to comprise a composite figure; or whether the spirit and the life, which become a single entity in the case of a member of one ancestral family, become multiple for one who is a member of several. When lamenting a dead person, mention is always made of the various scenes which he will have visited, and the forms he will have assumed. At a memorial potlatch, the deceased may return as a hybrid, or as 775

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

tries to speak to living relatives, but his whistling anguage is unintelligible and frightens the hearer. Ghosts dislike urine, and the only means known to keep them away fron a house is to sprinkle this liquid outside the door, a common Bella Coola custom. There is no actual danger in hearing a ghost, and little even in seeing one, provided the observer doe not relate his experience, but should he try to do so, something happens to his mouth as if an invisible hand had been clamped over it to prevent his words issuing forth. He can neither eat nor drink and soon dies.[1] It is possible that other beings are responsible for this same affliction, but as no sufferer has ever been able to explain the cause of his ailment, no one knows. The most dangerous ghost is that of a person who, buried without a nose-ring, is unable to disintegrate into his elements. The sight of such an apparition causes almost immediate death through contraction and closing of the mouth.

An unpleasant habit of ghosts is the throwing of stones at the living. This is done partly from a love of mischief, and partly to remind their relatives of their needs. An old Kimsquit man described how, when encamped on King Island, he had almost been struck by a stone which seemed to fall from a tree. He realized that it must have been thrown by a ghost, and his opinion was confirmed when he found he could not speak. He instantly built a fire and cast on it both food and clothing as offerings to the dead, which had the effect of loosening his mouth. Pondering on the reason, he remembered that one of his relatives had died not far away, and that he had failed to give him any crumbs for a long time. In this case, as in many others, the stone was visible, though the thrower remained invisible.

Even near approach to ghosts is sometimes dangerous. The same man related how, when hunting, he heard whathe thought was the note of a water ouzel, and passed by heedlessly. In a few minutes he thought he heard the cackling of geese, but the sound, instead of continuing to come from a pond a few hun-

[1] The disease attributed to the actions of ghosts may be lock-jaw.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

them renders it more likely that they will grant his requests. Therefore, a shaman is usually called upon to perform the following rites:

(1) Washing the mouth of a person who has died without voiding from his body the first salmon or olachen of the season (I, p. 436).

(2) Asking assistance for the complicated rites of the potlatch (I, p. 192).

(3) Request for assistance before starting on a journey, by puffing eagle down into the air (I, p. 106).

(4) Request for aid by means of placing food on the water and blowing eagle down into the air at Mesatche Nose and Kwatna (I, p. 109).

In fact a supplication to any supernatural being can be made with greater prospect of success by a shaman than by any other person.

The Power of Shamans

As has been said, a shaman actually has power within himself, and this is so strong that it may be a source of danger to others. If a man should pass behind one so endowed when the latter is eating, his spirit would be drawn from his body into the shaman's mouth, which would close with a click, crushing the spirit and killing the man. This is quite involuntary on the part of the shaman. It happened more than once among the early inhabitants, and since that time people have been very careful not to pass behind an eating shaman; this taboo was still in force until about 1885. A shaman, too, is said to be able to recall a spirit which has left its body, and thus caused illness. It is believed by some that shamans can see the position of a person's tally post, and so judge the length of his life. These examples show the varying beliefs of different Bella Coola concerning the powers of shamans.

But the force within the shaman is really more dangerous to its possessor than to others. As certain "unclean" objects are able to subdue supernatural beings, so do these same ob-

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

doings, and offered to make them members of the *kusiut* society in return for their silence. Though uninitiated persons, even this tempting bribe was refused by the two youths. Next, each of the malefactors offered a daughter as wife to each of the partners, and they accepted this bargain. For their part, the sorcerers were glad to escape at any cost, since they had been caught red-handed; they knew that henceforth they would have to assist their captors, but this was preferable to exposure.

The two groups parted company; the boys continued their journey to the upper village and the sorcerers went on their way to some cave in the mountains. Within a few weeks, each youth married the daughter of one of the malefactors, with whose assistance they were able to give potlatches and become influential personages.

A FAMILY OF KWATNA SORCERERS

Near the village of Kwatna there used to be two cemeteries. One was on a small point of ground at the mouth of the river which became an island at high tide; here were interred the bodies of chiefs alone, a custom said to be without parallel on the coast. It is not known why there should have been this special burial-ground, but the place was always spoken of as "The Chiefs' Island." Instead of being buried, coffins containing commoners were laid on ledges of rock at the base of a cliff behind the village; this custom, though unusual, is known elsewhere on the coast, at Kimsquit and Port Simpson, for example.

Many generations ago, there was a time when the corpses of commoners frequently disappeared from the ledges on which they had been placed, and although it was believed that a sorcerer was responsible, no one knew whom to blame. One old woman had lost nearly all her numerous relatives when she realized that, though there had been many deaths in the village and some families had been almost wiped out, no members of one group had been taken. This roused her suspicions; she soon noticed that whenever anyone was sick, four brothers of the family in question always made some plausible excuse to leave the village and proceed up the other arm of the inlet. She concluded that this could be no mere coincidence, the four must be sorcerers. Within a short while, another of her relatives fell ill and died in spite of all that could be done; this reduced her family to herself and her infant. On the day after the funeral, the four brothers said that they wanted to gather hemlock boughs and set off in a canoe up the other arm of the inlet for the purpose. They did not come back at night and the villagers assumed that they had been delayed and had camped. The bereaved woman, however, who had hidden herself below the village, saw the brothers paddle back around the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

ălqim: Something long sought-for on account of its especial desirability, such as well-grained wood.

ălqim was mnas: Child whose parents were long engaged and who is accordingly regarded as being well prepared for. [554]

ălqlus: Sisaok initiate concealed within the back-room.

Ălqnulits: One of the first men to settle in Kimsquit in the beginning of time.

ălqo: Guests at a potlatch.

Alqoxnkam, "The Shelterer": Name assumed by *Smaoan* in the beginning of time.

ălłpmătmis, "What Has Been Shaken Off": Term applied to presents distributed when a corpse has been carried through the roof. The implication is that they are dust shaken from the fingers of the deceased. [431] [764]

Ălquntăm: 1—The supreme god.
2—One of the first men to settle on the upper Bella Coola in the beginning of time.
3—One of the first men to settle on the upper Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
4—Tail of a *Stwx* repository.

Alquntămaăks: 1—Mountain on the north side of the lower Bella Coola.
2—Name assumed by one of the first settlers at *Snuhli* in the beginning of time.

ălłwallaiyelx: Old people, especially parents; this is a polite term for direct address. [601]

Ălqwathntutl: Supernatural artisans who made mankind in the beginning of time. [576]

ălq"il: Presents given to validate the initiation of a *kusiut.* [431]

Alqwutimut: Ancestral name of a Bella Coola woman. [463]

ăltămnuskwanăhmx: Professional mourner.

ăltămnuyaiyetl: Professional droner at marriages.

ăltămyaanx: Professional hunter.

ăltamyelit: Professional warrior.

Altakan·i: Kimsquit fisherman living in the last century.

ălt'xu: Olachen net.

Altsiăx: Celebrated hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

alłskt ol di ẖwalm: Second oldest sibling. [601]

Altsmos: Repository of a Kimsquit Cannibal where cures are effected.

ăltutemilk: Professional warrior. [463]

ăltutsxaiăxm: Professional river guard.

Altwolsgamus: Mountain near mouth of the Kimsquit River.

ălukwala: Shaman.

ăluliwastmm: 1—Meeting of those who have given potlatches. [753]
2—Unidentified disease said to attack only chiefs.

ălultimut: Marriage associates, i.e. those who, not being relatives, wish to associate themselves with the bride's family in the financial transactions of a marriage.

Ălumkămtmm: Name applied to the supernatural artisans with reference to their construction of everything used by mankind.

Ăluskinwasam, "Cloud-Covered": Name applied to the supernatural being *Noăkmm* with reference to his frequent invisibility.

Ăluskman·aix, "The Highest of All Chiefs' Sons:" Name of *Smaoan's* son in the beginning of time.

Ălus·liman, "Falling Star-Fish": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

Aluspax, "The Roof-Maker": Name acquired by a Kimsquit man long ago.

ălwălăk: One who has received a commission for carpentry work in preparation for a potlatch. [465]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

mixmixɬwlp: Leaf of salalberry.
mla·wadjut: 1—Omen of misfortune, such as preceded the outbreak of smallpox, hence, [824]
2—Smallpox. [787]
mlka: Type of sea-going canoe with raised prow and small stern.
mna, vocative, mnae: Child. [601]
Mnakais: Supreme god when addressed in prayer.
mnk': Excreta.
mnmnts, vocative, mnmnicdn·i: Ancestral family, practically equivalent to *children* when used by an old person. [614]
mnskanmaxts: The commemoration of a chief's potlatches and other major ceremonies by means of plain posts erected near his grave. [211]
Mnlalo·mm, Tide-Measurer: A supernatural being. [764] ●
Mstelos: Man mentioned in a song.
Mtlakila: Supernatural being who gives potency to *sisaok* rites.
mtletsts: Grandiloquent expression used by the *kukusiut* with reference to the way in which supernatural beings govern the length of human lives. [776] *
mtlalosdm: 1—The condition of being within range of speech and vision. The term is used to describe relations formerly existing between the dead and the living. [775]
2—To visit, term used with reference to the coming of a masked representation of a dead person; the significance is similar to that expressed in the first meaning.
mok': Pounded, dyed cedar-bark used to decorate ceremonial objects.
mokwaks: Head-ring of cedar-bark worn by *kusiut* initiates in the upper Bella Coola valley.
moqla: Lice. [825]
moqwila: Adolescent youth.
moxmoxk': Blue grouse.
moxmoulokkanda: Dentalium-shell ear-rings worn by adolescent girls during seclusion. [301]
mu: Hand net for catching olachen. [227]
mudcamkekstx: Yellow cedar stave decorated with swan feathers such as is carried by a Mystery dancer.
mustomax: Wrestling.
Mutan·a: Rivers Inlet man living in the last century.

N

Nain'akwas: One of the first men to settle at Smith Inlet in the beginning of time.
Na'mu: Bella Bella village; the Anglicized form is Namu.
nan·: Grizzly bear. [825]
Nanantlis: Name received from Grizzly Bear by a Kimsquit man in the beginning of time.
Nanatl: *Kusiut* name of a *Nusɬalst* man.
Nanatskwi: One of the first men to settle at *Stmx* in the beginning of time.
Nanalskwitl: One of the names of Mount *Nusɬalst* as chief.
nan·imut: Non-ceremonial weeping, usually individual, and always with real feeling. [827]
Naos: Indeterminate locality in the distant east. [15.2]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192*

nusɬa: The visit to every house in the village by a Mystery dancer on receipt of his call.

nusiem, plural, nunusiem: Singer.

nusikwɬa: Quiver for carrying arrows. [415]

Nusimusta: Mountain near *Asau·au·i.*

nusiutāls or ***nusiutālsap:*** Second day of a *kusiut* dance.

Nusixilaixaikum: Synonym for *Tutwai·es:* Supernatural being who shamelessly begs food from his fellows.

nuskāsiutsta: Repository.

nuskōli: Any unusual occurrence, regarded as an omen of death. [763]

Nuskōlāmusta, "Whence Things Came Down"*:* One of the names of the supreme god's house.

nusɬelusta: Wash-basin, especially the supernatural one that remains in the land above.

Nuskiayk: 1—Supernatural being presiding over the Land of Ashes.
2—Locality on the shore of North Bentinck Arm, not far from the head.

Nuskmāta: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Nuskumidjusta: Axe carried in the beginning of time by the man who was later turned to stone as Mount *Nusɬalst.* 2

Nuskumāt: Daughter of the group of settlers who came to Mount *Tsnisi* in the beginning of time.

Nu·skoskuxmx: Kimsquit hunter mentioned in an ancient story.

nuskotla: Wasps' nest. [825]

Nuskwalskānda: One of the first women to settle at *Snuiɬi* in the beginning of time.

nuskwanāsta: House in which a memorial potlatch is being held.

Nus·lāxum: Mountain on south side of lower Bella Coola.

Nusiexwgmxwdium, "The Cherished One": Designation applied to one of the sons of *Alquntām.*

nushusta: House in which a potlatch is taking place.

nushwy: One who has gone to give potlatches in a new sphere; this rhetorical expression is commonly used when referring to a dead chief. [195]

nusikāksta: Wash-basin used by a shaman when curing.

Nusikakstāmidjut, "He Whose Wash-Basin Is in His Own Body": One of *Tlitsaɬilāx·a's* names and hence a designation given to shamans. [756]

nuslhmoskista: Enclosure behind fire in which *kusiut* dancers are secluded. [764]

nuslkwusta: Cleansing rites in connection with death.

Nusiukwaltmx: *Tlaiyākum* name acquired by a Kimsquit man as a result of a supernatural experience.

Nusmālxmai: 1—Eagle that perched on a post supporting the sky in the beginning of time.
2—Name, derived from that of the eagle, of one of the first men to settle at *Sɬuxw* in the beginning of time.

Nusmā·a: 1—"Place of Stories": One of the names of the supreme god's house.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Nusɬalst* in the beginning of time.

Nusmā·aiaw·a, "Woman of *Nusmā·a*": Probably wife of *Alquntām.*

Nus·mallaix: Mountain on north side of lower Bella Coola.

Nusmallixwalx: Subterranean chamber in which rivers were confined in the beginning of time. [772]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

 192*

sḷaxᵠalikw': Goods collected by the relatives of a man when working on his commission as carpenter or other artisan in preparation for a potlatch.
Stcā·tsxom: A short-legged person who tries to cross a river; name of a string figure.
stcuqᵘ': That part of a house on either side of the central fire.
Stcitoma: 1—Sleep, a supernatural being. [513]
2—Sleep, intangible *kusiut* prerogative.
stciusnăm: Presents given to the one who leads a bride to her husband during a wedding. [585]
Ṣtcqwastlustkwi, "Dark-Shade": A supernatural being. [431]
ste·ptl: Shadow.
stetqwmas: Hammer, *archaic.* [412]
stekeo: Brother-in-law or sister-in-law. [601]
sṭiatmălxs: Shaman's stick with power of life at one end and death at the other.
stikwa: Bloody grease that rises to the surface of the water when a seal is cooked.
stiṗ: That on which a chief sits, that is, his ceremonial prestige gained by the distribution of much wealth. [283]
shĭkx: 1—Caribou hide. [825]
2—Thong made of caribou hide.
shxom: Chequer-work cedar-bark matting. [285]
sḥaxkt: Caribou.
sihms: Love charm consisting of hair of the one desired mixed with other ingredients. [832]
Sihmsila: Supernatural being who causes nightmares. [828]
sihmsta or *sihmstănălos:* Mortals, in contradistinction to supernatural beings.
sihmstaliktsta: Body.
sihmstănălesăm: Assumption of human characteristics by mankind in the beginning of time.
Sihxwaxwakniman·a: Professional name of a female berry-picker.
Sihxwaxwekanam: Professional female berry-picker. [825]
sihka: Mountain goat grease. [824]
sihkălaya: Castor.
Sihkiut, "What Has Been Divided": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
Sihklo: Son of the first settlers at Green Bay in the beginning of time. [825]
sihmas: Octopus.
Sinoakulxs: One of Raven's female Crow relatives. [386]
sinqwasma: Red rock paint.
sisia: Singer's baton.
ṣisulk: Text. [823]
slila·yaxs: Part of a river where there are rapids and projecting stones.
stuim: 1—Memorial-post, decorated with crest, erected near grave. [211]
2—Plain posts erected near grave to indicate major ceremonies performed by the deceased. [764]
Stunx: 1—Village in the upper Bella Coola valley.
2—Famous hunter mentioned in an ancient story. [262]
stutnm: Dried dog salmon soaked in water.
stutuseiks: Masked representation of a dead person in crest form.
Sly', "Rainwater-Dripping-through-the-Roof": A supernatural being.
sukwulk: Black raspberry. [824]
sulatw: Ocean.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

go with the mother and part with the father. The decision is left to the parents and children.

When a person has *died the corpse is washed, the face painted red,* the legs are doubled up, and the arms folded over the breast. The nose-ornament of the deceased is put into his nose; his shirt is put on, the back part covering the breast and the front part turned backward. The body is placed in a box and the latter is either fastened on the lower branches of a tree or placed in a little house, which is set on posts, above the level of the ground. The face of the deceased is turned eastward. Part of his property and gifts from his friends are deposited near the grave. The masks of the deceased are burnt. His crest is carved on a memorial column, which also shows how many canoes, coppers, head-dresses, and slaves he had given away at potlatches. These objects are painted or carved on the columns. Formerly slaves were killed at the burial of chiefs. The number of slaves killed was also indicated by so many human figures on the memorial column. After burial food for the use of the deceased is thrown into the fire. This is repeated frequently during a prolonged period after the death has occurred. Whenever the friends of the deceased partake of a meal a little food is thrown down at a place between the fire and the door, where the entrance to the lower world, the home of the dead, is believed to be.

The bed of a mourner must be protected against the ghost of the deceased. His male relatives stick a thorn-bush into the ground at each corner of their beds. After four days these are thrown into the water. Mourners must rise early and go into the woods, where they stick four thorn-bushes into the ground, at the corners of a square, in which they cleanse themselves by rubbing their bodies with cedar-branches. They also swim in ponds. After swimming they cleave four small trees and creep through the clefts, following the course of the sun. This they do on four subsequent mornings, cleaving new trees every day. Mourners cut their hair short. The hair that has been cut off is burnt. If they should not observe these regulations it is believed that they would dream of the deceased. Women when mourning scratch their cheeks with shells or stones.

The mourning regulations for a widower or a widow are especially strict. For four days he (or she) must fast, and must not speak a word, else the dead wife or husband would lay a hand on the mouth of the offender, who would then die. They must not go near water, and are forbidden to catch or eat salmon for a whole year. For the same length of time they must not eat fresh herring or olachen. Widow and widower cleanse themselves in the same way as other mourners. Their shadows are considered unlucky, and must not fall on any person.

Some time after the death of a rich or influential person his nearest relative invites the whole tribe to a potlatch. On this occasion he sings a mourning song for the deceased and gives away presents to his guests. It was explained to me that this ended the mourning, and that it was 'the same as giving away the bones of the deceased.'

Religion and Shamanism.

The mythology of the Bilqula differs greatly from the mythologies of the other tribes of the North Pacific coast. It is impossible to say to